

We believe that no body ever of another's life

respectable either for numbers, or as representatives of southern sentiment, have ever attempted to carry this doctrine of State Rights to such lengths, in behalf of slavery, as it is here commended to them by the pretended friends of liberty. In fact, these men have been attempting, for years, to rival, at least, if not to outdo, even southern men, in their advocacy of this trumped-up doctrine of "State Rights." And they have at length succeeded in absolutely outdoing them. And their motive has been, that they might gain the reputation of being champions of liberty at the north, and at the same time avoid the necessity of performing any service for liberty at the south, where alone any real service was needed.

It is of no avail, as a defence for the Republicans, to say, that, in another resolution, at Chicago, they declared—

"That the maintenance of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the federal constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; that the federal constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved; and that we re-assert these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

It is of no avail that they declare these principles, in one breath, when, in the next, they declare the unalienable rights of the States to reduce men to bondage. That they should assert such opposite principles, only proves what unblushing hypocrites and liars they are; and that they are ready to assert any principles whatever, from the extreme of liberty to the extreme of slavery, if they can thereby conciliate or deceive the two opposite wings of their faction, and keep them together until their object of gaining possession of the government of the country shall be attained.

We have recently been told, on high Republican authority, that slavery is a "free-headed enormity." Well, be it so. How do the Republicans propose to combat this "free-headed enormity?" We think we have shown that they propose to combat it only by an imposture, that is at least twelve-headed. This twelve-headed imposture consists of these twelve separate impostures, to wit:—

1. The imposture of "Freedom National, and Slavery Sectional." That is to say, national freedom outside of the nation, and sectional slavery all over the nation itself, if the separate sections (States) shall so choose.

2. The imposture of "Free Labor and Free Men." That is to say, seeking the interests alone of the laborer and the men, that are already free, and leaving the laborer and the men, that are not free, to their fate.

3. The imposture of "Non-Extension of Slavery." That is to say, extending slavery through all time, and to as many new victims as the States respectively may choose; and "non-extending" it only by not removing the slaves from one place to another, but confining them within the narrow precincts of 850,000 square miles, where it is to be presumed, they will soon die out from compression, suffocation, or some other equally probable cause.

4. The imposture of "Doing with the Slave Oligarchy." That is to say, maintaining the slaveholders' right of property in their slaves, but depriving them of the political influence which that property naturally gives them.

5. The imposture of "The Suppression of the Slave Trade." That is to say, the suppression of the slave trade by statutes, which slave-holding juries are expected to execute; the suppression of the slave trade in native Africa, while maintaining the slavery of native Americans.

6. The imposture of a party, calling itself "Republicans," and professing to be a strictly constitutional party; and yet refusing to perform the only duty which the constitution enjoins under the specific name of "Republicans."

7. The imposture of declaring that the constitution of the United States can be "the supreme law of the land," and yet have no effect in fixing the political status of the people.

8. The imposture of "State Rights." That is to say, the imposture of declaring that the States can reduce anybody, or everybody, to slavery, and thus deprive them of all rights under the national government; and yet the national government have no right to interfere for their protection.

9. The imposture of assuming that a government, which purports to be distinctly the government of the United States, and of no other country or people on earth, should have (as the Republicans claim) so much more political power over countries and people outside of the United States, than it has over those within the United States.

10. The imposture of assuming that the Republicans or anybody else can make great conquests for liberty, and at the same time do nothing at all to the injury of slavery.

11. The consummate imposture of supposing that rhetoric, and flourish, and bombast, are the only weapons necessary to rid the earth of tyranny.

12. The unaccounted imposture of supposing that the Republican party itself is, or ever has been, any thing else than an imposture.

We could probably find still other "heads" of this Republican imposture, if we had leisure and inclination to search for them. But, however many we might find, we should undoubtedly find them all filled with the same kind of emptiness as those we have enumerated.

But infidelity to their own convictions of the true character of the constitution of the United States, in its relation to slavery, is the crowning inconsistency, hypocrisy, and crime, of large numbers, at least, of the Republican faction.

There is no reason to doubt that very large numbers of that wing of the party, which is sincerely favorable to liberty, including a due proportion of their public men, believe that the constitution of the United States is not only free itself from the stain of slavery, but that it gives liberty to all "the people of the United States." "Any thing in the constitution or laws of the States to the contrary notwithstanding."

Of the public men, who hold this belief, there is much evidence before the public, tending to prove—probably sufficient rationally to prove—that William H. Seward is one; that such has been his belief for many years; and that he has intended to sow it, and set upon it, so soon as he could do so with safety to his political aspirations.

Nevertheless, such was the unprincipled character of the faction on whom he relied for his aggrandizement, and such the unprincipled character of the man himself (notwithstanding he has been supposed to combine more ability, meagerness, and integrity than any other man of the faction) that, on the 25th of February last, he was weak and wicked enough, in view of his political exigencies,

not only to ignore all constitutional opinions favorable to liberty, but virtually to ignore all the moral sentiments he had ever professed on the subject. With a deliberate heartlessness, so monstrous as to be disgusting, he treated of four millions of human beings—having the same natural rights with himself—and having also, in his own estimation (as we think) equal political rights with himself, under the constitution he had sworn to support—we say he heartlessly treated of these four millions of men, and their posterity, as so much capital—not, perhaps, the best form of capital—but whether, or not, the best form of capital, was for the owners to judge, and for experience to determine. And if, before this experiment should be closed, anybody should presume to recognize them as men; or attempt to convert them from capital into men; or recognize them as citizens of the United States, and go to their rescue (as any one, on the hypothesis of their being such citizens, might legally do) such a person, said Mr. Seward, must necessarily, and may justly, be hung.

Thus this chameleon man stood out, and stripped himself before the eyes of all people, and, labeled, in their presence, to cover himself all over with this moral and political filth, in order to denote the hated odors of liberty, humanity and justice, which he feared might be still clinging to him, as relics of his former professions (and principles, if he ever had any), and thereby fit himself, if possible, to become the candidate of his faction. And the infamous character of the faction itself is to be inferred from the fact, that all this self-defilement, on his part, was unsuccessful to secure for him their confidence. They feared that at least the smell of liberty might still be upon him; and, therefore, fixed their choice upon one, who, if not more clear of all real love for freedom, was at least less suspected of any such disqualification.

What we have supposed to be true of Mr. Seward, we have good reason to believe to be also true of several, perhaps many, other Republican members of Congress, viz., that, believing the slaves in this country to be, in the view of the constitution of the United States, full citizens of the United States, equally with themselves, they nevertheless, for the sake of gaining power, publicly acknowledge and declare their enslavement to be constitutional, and that the general government has no authority to liberate them.

We think the friends of liberty, in every congressional district, should look sharply after their representatives on this point. We do not wish to send men to Congress, who will believe the constitution, they swear to support. We do not even wish to send them there to give us essays on the moral nature of slavery. We understand that matter all ready. But, as John Brown would say, we want men there, who, believing the constitution gives liberty to all, will put the thing through.

We understand the reasons given, in part, by these men, why they do not declare slavery is unconstitutional, and that the general government has power to abolish it, to be, that the people are not ready for it! That the Republicans must first get possession of the government! That is to say, these men must persist in their false assertions, that the general government has no power to abolish slavery; but will, on the contrary sustain it in the States where it is—until they must persist in these assertions, until they get the general government into their hands; then, as they wish it to be inferred, they will show the fraud by which they obtained their power; will take it for granted that the people are ready to be informed what the constitutional law of the country really is; and will proceed to put it into execution, by giving liberty to all.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

Every intelligent Episcopalian must read the account of Mr. Jay's treatment, or rather the treatment of his resolutions, at the late Diocesan Convention of New York, with an inexpressible shame. The Hon. John Jay, a lay member of that convention, well knowing that New York is the focus of the African slave trade, introduced resolutions condemning the abominable traffic, and made an eloquent speech in favor of their adoption; but the convention, after annoying him all it could while he was speaking, unceremoniously laid his resolutions on the table. This contemptuous disposition of a matter so vitally important, is enough to make the very name of a Church, a byword and a reproach in the earth. It needs no argument to prove that such professors of religion are a curse to the world, and their religion a mockery. The instincts of humanity will settle that question without the aid of logic. Such religion, whatever name it may bear, and wherever it may be found, is nothing more nor less than that old murderous pharisaism which now, as anciently, pays tithes of mint and rue, and passes over judgment, and the love of God—makes long prayers and broad phylacteries, but detests widows' houses and crucifies Christ in the person of the slave.

This is a terrible conclusion, and gladly would we avoid it if we could, but the necessity of judging a tree by its fruit, compels us to the decision. Look at the facts. Here is an assembly of professedly Christian ministers and laymen, who with full knowledge that a horrible crime is being committed in their midst, and with their attention called to it by one of their own number, deliberately and absolutely refuse to discontinue it. Now on every principle of justice, whether human or divine, these men must be held to be guilty of the crime which they refuse to condemn. We must reverse all the maxims of morality, or else this Diocesan Convention with those whom the law of our country styles pirates—either the pirates are not as bad as the thief, and the necessary does not share the guilt of his principal, or this revered body has beyond all question involved itself deeply in the crime of piracy. If there is any way of arriving at a different conclusion, so far as relates to the majority of the convention, we should be happy to know it. The only conceivable apology is that of ignorance. But can we believe that the intelligent members who counted the resolutions of Mr. Jay, were ignorant of the character of the slave trade, or of the fact of its actual revival within their own diocese, and most probably too within their own Church? To or it seems utterly preposterous to attempt the plea of ignorance in such a case. We readily admit that the Episcopal Church is not responsible for the outrage perpetrated by the convention—the Church as a body was badly represented—nay, shamefully misrepresented. Episcopals are not remarkable for inhumanity, they are not men, violators, pirates. Whatever blindness of perception there may be among a few in the cotton city of New York, the Church as a whole is most egregiously slandered by the action of its representatives. Such cold dodging on a great question of humanity, such actual participation in a horrible sin, ought to wake up a storm all through the denomi-

nation. The majority of that convention, until they repent in dust and ashes, should never more be allowed to mingle with Christian men. They have injured the cause of God, and sapped the foundation of the Church. Professed infidels could not have done so much to disgrace the Church, and make it odious in the eyes of all unbelievers. It is only by knowing that such acts are contrary to Christianity, as light is to darkness, that even believers can maintain their respect for the Gospel. Let it be understood that the slave-trade is compatible with our faith, and every honest man is bound by the laws of his being, to treat that faith with contempt.

It is on this account that we are obliged to discard all pretended evangelical movements in the South. We would as soon encourage Mormonism or Popery, as the spurious religion of slave-holders. All Churches mixed up with the traffic, must be considered as dead. We are not at liberty to regard them as the victims of imposture, the dupes of allowable ignorance—no, by no means, for the light now shines and they see; or if they do not, it is because they choose darkness rather than light.

It is useless to be stretching the old tattered mantle of charity to cover up such monstrosities. We owe it to the cause of Christ, to strip off the covering from mere pretenders to the faith, and show up the hypocrisy of those who say they are Christians, and are not. And the more, the more they cry, "the temple of God we are," and insist upon being regarded as the only true church. These reflections give us additional pain, because our own branch of the Church is sadly infected with the disease which is wasting the Episcopal Church. We wish with all our boasted reformatory energy, have not dared to rebuke the God-dishonoring crime of slave-holding—a crime not one particle worse in any respect, than the African slave-trade. We have got many thousands of members in the M. E. Church to-day, who buy and sell, and hold, and breed slaves, and who everybody knows, might just as well be engaged in the foreign slave-trade. Yet against all this complicated villainy, our Church has not the moral strength to make a law—after years of agitation, she barely musters life enough to give a little advice. It is with infinite shame that we record the fact. Such tame dealing with a rampant crime, is more repulsive than doing nothing. It is better to be cold than lukewarm—better to abstain from all efforts to help the slave, than to mock his sufferings by meagre attempts. What ever may be the guilt of Episcopals in this matter, Methodists cannot share theirs. Not we—our lips as a denomination are closed, and we are speechless. No other Church has condescended to degrade itself, by pronouncing slaveholding and its cognate crimes, contrary to the law of God, and yet shrink from opposing them except by a white phylactic.

While we thus take our place in the dust, and cry unclean, we cannot but deplore the effect of this contamination upon the progress of Christianity. Until we get divested from slavery, and its kindred vices, our religion will not benefit the heathen. The people whom we seek to convert to foreign lands, are wicked, but their wickedness is not greater than that of slave-holders. More than this, what fails to save the heathen abroad, will also fail to save at home. We have no faith in the efficacy of a slave-holding religion, whether in this or in foreign lands.

CAPTURE OF ANOTHER SLAVE SHIP.

600 NEGROES ON BOARD—SLAVES SENTENCED. Another slave-ship has been captured by an American steamer. The vessel, doubtless is owing to the great number of slave pirates on the African coast under the slave trade policy of the Democratic Administration. It is hard to cruise in African waters now without stumbling upon full freighted American slave ships, so plenty have they become since the successful re-opening of the ancient traffic by the Africanized Democratic South.

The slave captured was the Erie, fifty miles off the mouth of the Congo river, and four days out. She had nine hundred slaves on board, and was taken by the U. S. steamer, Monitor, Lieut. Danvers. The negroes were perfectly naked when taken, and were delivered to the Rev. John Seyr, who, at Monrovia. They were delighted with the disposition made of them, clapped their hands, sang, shouted and had a jolly time over their deliverance. Twenty-nine died before a landing was effected at Monrovia.

The Erie has arrived at New York with three important looking persons, supposed to be the captain and two mates, who have been handed over to the U. S. Marshal. The crew, who were forerunners, were allowed to take French leave on the coast. The Erie was built in Rhode Island in 1840.

The officers of the slave Orion, just tried in the U. S. District Court at Boston, for being engaged in the slave trade, were sentenced on the 5th as follows: Thomas Morgan, partner owner and commander, fined \$2,000 and sent to jail a year; B. J. Chamberlin, first mate, sent to prison two years, and Wm. Dunham sent to jail for twenty-one months. They were not tried under the law making the slave trade piracy, on slaves being on the Orion when captured. At Charleston or Savannah, these slave traders would have been discharged with the exhortation to go and sin again.—*Leader.*

ABOLITIONISTS AMONG US.

Out Croppings of the Greeley Doctrine.

The quiet of our city was disturbed on Sunday morning last by the report that some abolitionists had made the attempt to abduct some three slaves in the employ of and belonging to Messrs. Whalin & Vanmeter. They underwent a preliminary examination before an examining court, and it was shown that the accused, J. H. McMaster and wife, had attempted to entice away said negroes. That the negro woman belonging to Samuel Whalin divulged the plot to her master, informing him when and where the next meeting would be, and what arrangement it would be necessary to make to accomplish their designs. Whereupon, several gentlemen of high respectability and known veracity, concealed themselves near the place of meeting. The whole conversation was heard, in which it was agreed that McMaster should as speedily as possible get them to Ohio, to accomplish which the negroes were to steal several articles of clothing, jewelry, &c., and, if necessary, while on the way, one of the negroes was to have been sold and stolen back again. The case having been fully made out, they were both committed to jail in default of bail to await their final trial at the February term of our Criminal Court.—*Burlington Green, (Ky.) Gazette, Sept. 29.*

PROCEEDINGS OF AN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT MINNEAPOLIS, MARSHALL COUNTY, IOWA, AUGUST 26TH 1860.

FIRST DAY—FORENOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order by the President, T. H. Morgan. The secretary being absent, O. P. Maxson was appointed pro tem, after which the meeting proceeded to business by nominating O. Hambleton, O. P. Maxson and M. K. Hambleton as a committee to report names of persons as candidates for officers during the ensuing year. After retiring for a short time the committee returned, and reported the following named persons for candidates.

T. H. Morgan President, Margaret Rakestraw Vice President, O. Hambleton Corresponding Secretary, M. K. Hambleton Recording Secretary, E. Morgan Treasurer.

On motion, the report was received and the candidates unanimously elected; after which Mr. L. Farmer being called upon, arose and addressed the meeting, showing the bearing of the institution of slavery upon the Church and State.

On motion, the Chair appointed O. Hambleton, L. W. Farmer and M. K. Hambleton, as a committee to draft resolutions, and present such other business as they might deem expedient for the action of the society. It was afterwards suggested that the president be one of the above committee, which was agreed to.

On motion, a letter from Parker Pillsbury was read. Its contents were in relation to holding conventions throughout the west. The society took no action on the subject. Then adjourned to meet to-morrow at 10 o'clock A. M.

MORNING SESSION.

The society convened a short time after the appointed hour. President in the Chair.

After calling the meeting to order the minutes were read. The Business Committee made a report, which was accepted. Dr. Vestal was invited to address the audience, which he did, and gave many facts concerning the diabolical system of slavery, he himself having formerly resided in North Carolina.

On motion adjourned to meet at 3 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The society was called to order by the president, at the appointed time. An appropriate song was sung.

The Business Committee further reported. On motion, the three first resolutions were taken up for discussion. Some very appropriate remarks were made by the president, in their favor; he was followed by Dr. Vestal and others, and the resolutions were adopted.

The 4th resolution was adopted without discussion. The 5th was discussed with considerable animation by John Moore and others, in favor, L. Hambleton and others opposed; and was then unanimously adopted.

On motion, the 6th and 7th were laid on the table, but on reconsidering the motion, they were adopted.

By a unanimous vote, it was thought best that the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the Minnesota Republican, and Anti-Slavery Bugle, for publication.

Then adjourned sine die.

T. H. MORGAN President, M. K. HAMBLETON Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, The standard law authorities proclaim as a Truth, that all men have an absolute right to personal liberty, personal security and private property; that all government should be established to protect and secure these rights; that human law should be a rule of action, prescribed by the supreme power of the state or nation, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong; that a slave is a person held as chattel property in the hands of his owner, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; that as a consequence no man or set of men can be reduced to, and kept in a condition of slavery without the commission of the crimes of homicide, mayhem, assault and battery, false imprisonment, kidnapping, larceny, and forgery; therefore,

1st, Resolved, That as all Divine revelation sanctions this as a basis of government, it becomes our duty to see if the government and institutions under which we live are based on the recognition of these rights; if not to consider what way we can best set to bring the government to this basis.

2nd, Resolved, That whereas the constitution and basis of our government, has been construed to sanction the holding of one sixth of the nation in the most complete system of slavery known to history, and as a consequence, the treasury and army of the nation has been and now is, in the hands of the slaveholder to keep slavery where it is; and whereas, all present political parties pledge their candidates to sustain that construction of the constitution, and as a consequence to sustain slavery where it is, therefore,

Resolved, That if slavery is ever abolished, it must be done by some other agency than the success of any of the present political parties.

3rd, Resolved, That it is the duty of all men to give countenance and encouragement to every legitimate means for the extinguishment of American slavery.

4th, Resolved, That among the means legitimate to this end, we recognize the untrammelled freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition and the elective franchise.

5th, Resolved, That the elements of the success of the anti-slavery movement and cause, originate in, and derive their chief support from the teachings of Christ and his apostles.

6th, Resolved, That it is our duty to sympathize with, and labor for, the emancipation of the slaves of the South; or that the mission of Him who came to seek and save that which was lost, was unfulfilled, and the labors of a Howard, Miss Nightingale, the immortal Parnassus, and indeed all the good and great that have been solicited for the bettering of the condition of mankind, have been works of supererogation, and therefore a mistake.

7th, Whereas, The object of anti-slavery associations is the extermination of slavery, and whereas American slavery is the vilest that ever existed in the known world, that ever since its introduction in the American colonies it has been increasing in its demands, that it has required at the hands of every political party its entire countenance, and that the four political parties now in the field and asking for the suffrages of the people, pledge themselves to stand by and defend this heinous-daring institution so long as the slave status will continue to exist, having no wish or intention to interfere with it where it exists, therefore,

Resolved, That no consistent anti-slavery man can support any of them, and remain true to the slave, feeling himself in bonds as bound with the enslaved.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOREST HOME ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

SATURDAY, Sept. 1, 1860.

The society met, and was called to order by the president, T. H. Morgan. The secretary being absent, O. P. Maxson was appointed pro tem, after which the meeting proceeded to business by nominating O. Hambleton, O. P. Maxson and M. K. Hambleton as a committee to report names of persons as candidates for officers during the ensuing year. After retiring for a short time the committee returned, and reported the following named persons for candidates.

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On motion, the report was received and the candidates unanimously elected; after which Mr. L. Farmer being called upon, arose and addressed the meeting, showing the bearing of the institution of slavery upon the Church and State.

On motion, the Chair appointed O. Hambleton, L. W. Farmer and M. K. Hambleton, as a committee to draft resolutions, and present such other business as they might deem expedient for the action of the society. It was afterwards suggested that the president be one of the above committee, which was agreed to.

On motion, a letter from Parker Pillsbury was read. Its contents were in relation to holding conventions throughout the west. The society took no action on the subject. Then adjourned to meet to-morrow at 10 o'clock A. M.

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After calling the meeting to order the minutes were read. The Business Committee made a report, which was accepted. Dr. Vestal was invited to address the audience, which he did, and gave many facts concerning the diabolical system of slavery, he himself having formerly resided in North Carolina.

On motion adjourned to meet at 3 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The society was called to order by the president, at the appointed time. An appropriate song was sung.

The Business Committee further reported. On motion, the three first resolutions were taken up for discussion. Some very appropriate remarks were made by the president, in their favor; he was followed by Dr. Vestal and others, and the resolutions were adopted.

The 4th resolution was adopted without discussion. The 5th was discussed with considerable animation by John Moore and others, in favor, L. Hambleton and others opposed; and was then unanimously adopted.

On motion, the 6th and 7th were laid on the table, but on reconsidering the motion, they were adopted.

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T. H. MORGAN President, M. K. HAMBLETON Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS.

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1st, Resolved, That as all Divine revelation sanctions this as a basis of government, it becomes our duty to see if the government and institutions under which we live are based on the recognition of these rights; if not to consider what way we can best set to bring the government to this basis.

2nd, Resolved, That whereas the constitution and basis of our government, has been construed to sanction the holding of one sixth of the nation in the most complete system of slavery known to history, and as a consequence, the treasury and army of the nation has been and now is, in the hands of the slaveholder to keep slavery where it is; and whereas, all present political parties pledge their candidates to sustain that construction of the constitution, and as a consequence to sustain slavery where it is, therefore,

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hunter, whenever he shows himself, that he may expect from Northern men no sympathy or support in his barbarous pursuit.

At your proposed meeting, which it will not be in my power to attend, I trust that a just hatred to slavery in all its pretensions will be subjected to that temperate judgment which knows how to keep a sacred animosity within the limits of the Constitution and the law.

Accept my thanks for the invitation with which you have honored me, and believe me, with much personal regard and constant sympathy, Sincerely yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

The Rev. S. J. May.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

"PROVIDENCE HAS MADE ME AN ACTOR, AND SLAVERY AN OUTLAW."—John Brown of Ossawatimie.

SALEM, OHIO, OCTOBER 13, 1860.

OUR MOTTO.

Principles, not men.

OUR CANDIDATES.

For President, TRUTH.

For Vice President, JUSTICE.

OUR PLATFORM.

Resolved, That "righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people."

CAMPAIGN SUBSCRIBERS.

Subscribers will be received from now until the Presidential election at the rate of \$1 a year for the Campaign paper, provided the subscriptions are for a club of five or more. Whether the subscription is for one week, or for the entire time intervening between now and the election, the price will be at the above rate. So please send in your names and money.

POPULAR FALLACIES.

If the people of any European government which pretends to have a Constitution, are as ignorant of the provisions of that document, the obligations it imposes, and the restrictions it provides, as are the people of this country of the Federal Constitution, they are greatly to be pitied unless in their case ignorance is bliss and wisdom folly. Every body talks about the Constitution, and "our constitutional rights," and they so far reverence the instrument as to regard it with the veneration due to a god. Their ideas of its character, however, are as indefinite as the general ideas of the divinity which the people worship. Even many who claim to be well informed, receive without examination the incorrect opinions in regard to its provisions which have been so extensively adopted as to become popular fallacies.

In conversing with Thaddeus Hyatt in his Washington prison last spring, we naturally spoke of the unconstitutionality of his imprisonment, and in the course of his remarks he informed us he had not read the Constitution since he was a school boy, until his imprisonment, when he found it necessary to consult the document to ascertain whether he was legally or illegally a captive. And there are many in the same condition that Mr. Hyatt was, with whom the reading of the Constitution was a school boy exercise, and never practiced since school days. A thorough study of the document will reduce a man's reverence for it to zero, for his mind will become disabused of the popular fallacies concerning it, and he will learn that even its best parts are not so good as they are generally represented, and its bad parts are truly a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.

In a recent letter in the Liberator from Daniel E. Sumner to Gerrit Smith, the writer says, "If Mr. Garrison desires to publish an anti-slavery paper in Richmond, the President is bound by his oath of office to defend him against mob or State laws. Should Wendell Phillips take it into his head to stump the South, he must be protected, if necessary, by the army and navy."

Miscellaneous.

BOTH SIDES.

A man in his carriage was riding along,
A gaily dressed wife by his side;
In ratio and lace she looked like a queen,
And he like a king in his pride.

A wood-sawyer stood on the street as they passed,
The carriage and couple he eyed,
And said, as he worked with his saw on a log,
"I wish I was rich and could ride."

The man in the carriage remarked to his wife—
"One thing I would give if I could—
I would give all my wealth for the strength and
the health
Of the man who saws the wood."

A pretty young maid, with a bundle of work,
Whose face as the morning was fair,
Went tripping along with a smile of delight,
While humming a love-breathing air.

She looked on the carriage—the lady she saw,
Arrayed in apparel so fine,
And said in a whisper, "I wish from my heart
Those satins and laces were mine."

The lady looked out on the maid with her work,
So fair in her cotton dress,
And said, "I'd relinquish possession and wealth
For beauty and youth to possess."

Thus in this world, whatever our lot,
Our minds and our time we employ,
In longing and sighing for what we have not,
Ungrateful for what we enjoy.

We welcome the pleasure for which we have
sighed,
The heart has a void in it still,
Growing deeper and wider the longer we live,
That nothing but heaven can fill.

SERFDOM IN RUSSIA.

The attention of the friends of human freedom has been directed, of late years with uncommon interest, to Russia. Hopes have been entertained that the gigantic system of servitude which has there existed for many ages was about to be abolished, and that Russia would thus join the ranks of those nations whose example is such a powerful protest against every form of human slavery. These hopes have not yet been realized. Whether they are likely to be so is very doubtful. The present Emperor, with the best intentions, finds himself surrounded by embarrasments and difficulties, and many, in fact, well-informed with regard to the condition of the Empire, are fully convinced that self-emancipation must be one feature of a general reform in which the whole system of administration shall be changed. A few leading facts relating to this subject may interest our readers.

It will surprise some to learn that the number of serfs in the Russian Empire is almost twice as great as the entire population of the United States. There are twenty-two millions belonging to the Crown and the Imperial family, and twenty-two millions more who are private property; making forty-four millions in all. These are held for property as literally and really as are the negroes in the Southern States; although in one particular their condition is different, and more favorable. While they can be bought and sold, this is always in connection with the lands upon which they live, and which they are compelled to till. Thus there are no such separations of families, nor such disgraceful exposures in the auction shambles, as are seen in this country. The Russian serf, besides, receives for himself a certain portion of his yearly earnings. A specified portion goes to his owner, while the remainder he keeps for the support of himself and family. Some instances occur where the peasant, under this arrangement, saves money, although the principal advantage of this seems to be that it makes him a prey to government robbers, who bring against him mock charges, and compel him to save his life by parting with his money.

Under the most favorable circumstances it is a condition of hardship. The Russian serfs are absolutely owned by their masters, and are not recognized in any relation, as either men or citizens. They descend from father to son, as a part of the inheritance, or may be sold, along with the land they till, to pay the debts of any spendthrift. To say the least of such a condition, it is utterly at war with every idea of improvement or of the elevation of the laboring class. How the peasant of Russia became thus a slave, seems not wholly agreed among historians. It is supposed that when, in an early age, the people, who were at first a nomadic race like the Tartars, roaming from place to place in search of pasturage for their herds, began to turn their attention to a more settled way of living and to the cultivation of the soil, prisoners of war, debtors, and other helpless persons over whom the stronger class had the means of exercising power, were reduced to servitude and compelled to work for their nursing masters. In the tenth century slavery was recognized by law, however it may have been introduced. In 1592 the serf was attached to the soil. In 1597 the number was increased by a decree which forbade persons then laboring under a contract to leave the service of their employers even at the expiration of their term, and any one who had been thus in service for six months might be appropriated as bond-servants. At a later date the Empress Catherine laid the same heavy yoke on still other necks. Certain individuals induced her to decree that all persons laboring on the soil within a particular district, called Little Russia, should be from a certain date regarded as serfs. The indignations of this contrived, by offering large wages, to draw a number of free persons to the district named, and placed them under employ. When the decree took effect these were all reduced to slavery; their first knowledge of the decree being the announcement of the fact that henceforth they and their posterity, forever were slaves. "One quarter," they are told, "a member of the council of State, obtained the favor of having two fine regiments of grenadiers encompassed on his land at the critical moment, and he incorporated them with his agricultural serfs." These instances sufficiently indicate how it is that slavery exists in Russia.

The vast number of the serfs is not more surprising than the small number of the pro-

prietors. The sum total of the latter is placed at one hundred and sixteen thousand. Of these, five thousand are not owners of land; and yet they hold in their possession thirty thousand house-slaves, or slaves hired out. Between six and seven millions are divided amongst the highest nobility, numbering less than fifteen hundred. The most wretched of these unhappy creatures are those who belong to the poorest of the land owners who, to the number of about fifty thousand, own some twenty serfs each. There is no tyrant like the little tyrant, who expends all the resources of a mean but imperious nature upon a few miserable victims.

These are barely hints, yet they may aid the reader in forming some idea of the subject. The difficulties which the Emperor finds meeting him in his efforts to effect a general emancipation are partly in the fact, that all those to whom he would look for the execution of his purposes are deeply interested in keeping things as they are, while the whole system of government is so constructed and managed as to make the Emperor—Autocrat though he be—powerless for anything really good. A late Russian author declares, and apparently with perfect truth, that the Emperor himself has no power, except for evil. He can terrify, torture, and banish, and might even bid heads fall at his pleasure, like any Khan in Central Asia; but he cannot administer justice, or reform the smallest abuse. Apparently, his only chance as regards self-emancipation, is to revolutionize the whole system of administration, and thus deliver both himself and his people from the usurpations and impositions of the aristocracy. The fear is that Alexander II. is not the man to carry through such an undertaking, however much he might desire the change. That he really intends the abolition of serfdom, no one doubts. And in this he only follows the example of both his father, the Emperor Nicholas, and his grand father, Alexander I., both of whom, at times at least, contemplated the same. He is, too, a man of many virtues, truly devoted to his people, and anxious to secure their highest welfare. But has he strength of mind and purpose sufficient for a successful encounter with such difficulties as stand in his way? Those among his subjects who truly sympathize in his plans are allowed no access to him. In numerous instances they have become obnoxious to the corrupt and tyrannical ministry, and are obliged to save their lives by voluntary exile. Many believe that no changes will be made except as the result of a revolution and a war of classes. Such a war among such a people would be hideous beyond description. Well it is for the world that there is one, higher than the highest, whose hands hold the reins of actual empire, and whose perfect mind guides all events toward ultimate good.—*Christian Times*.

From the Northern Independent.

GREAT RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL OF THE M. E. CHURCH IN BUFFALO
—NEW MEANS OF GRACE—
CLAM BAKE AND CHOWDER—
DANCING.

Extra efforts in the way of protracted meetings, have been put forth now and then by the different M. E. Churches in this city, for the conversion of sinners. The success of these efforts has not been, of late, all that could have been desired. Different means have also been resorted to, in order to replenish empty coffers, and to meet unpleasant debts, with which some of the Churches are embarrassed. Oyster suppers, and festivals in the Churches, have become so common as to excite but little attention. Recently Peter Cartwright was taken through Canada by one of our city pastors, for the purpose of raising money.

Last Thursday, a combined assault of a novel kind was made upon the devil's kingdom. Instrumentalities that Peter and Paul never thought of employing for the promotion of Christianity, were brought into requisition. For days previous to the great event, flaming notices, headed, "CLAM BAKE AND CHOWDER," were posted up in conspicuous places, and similar notices were published in the city papers.

The affair, we understand, was a perfect success. We of course were "continuously" not present, but we clip the following account from the Daily Republic.

"The spot selected for the clam bake was Clinton Forest, situated about half a mile from the road. This place, containing about twenty acres, was surrounded by a neat board fence, and ten cents demanded from each visitor for admission within the enclosure. Within we found thousands of people, some venturing their garments on swings, some playing games of different descriptions, hundreds eating ice-cream, coffee, ham, fowls and other substantial, while the great mass opened, swallowed, or gorged themselves with clams. Clams were the cry—from every corner came the echo, clams! clams! and the odor and flavor of clams went up and down odorous as exquisite oysters, and fragrant as a back kitchen about dinner time. The heroic FENNER presided over the clams, within an enclosure of plank, and with his head wreathed in a towel, and his delicate waist spanned by a clean apron, he looked the very god Epichurus, as he intrepidly ladled out the chowder, and courageously burned his fingers in his mortal haste. (*Entre nous* the chowder was superb.)

"At other points on the grounds were many tables spread with delicacies of all sorts, behind which handsome women added their voices to urge on appetite; flower tables were many, where young and pretty damsels waylaid penniless young men with their eyes, and persuaded them into floral purchases; ice cream booths, where shillings were exchanged for the frigid luxury, accompanied with parallellogrammatic sections of sponge cake; there were other places also where money could be laid out to advantage in many ways, but of them we remember none. At the rope walk, a building which appeared to us to be a mile long, a large crowd had collected, and to the music of two bands were jumping about and perspiring to their hearts' content, while privilege cost each dancer the sum of ten cents. The atmosphere in this place was so intensely hot and high flavored, that we po-

tively failed to get the programme of the dances.

"In the main grounds, the Union Cornet Band with their new instruments delighted the crowds with their music, while the Twilight Serenaders were kept musical all day long, by the voices of women and girls, who surrounded them with a rampart of charms, denying their egres without some specimen of their vocal attributes. The singers fairly made themselves hoarse with their efforts. All was hilarity and enjoyment throughout the afternoon, everybody appearing to be happy just in proportion as they had absorbed clams, (and here arises the question of the relation of good humor to baked clams. Perhaps the gentleman who took the money at the gate will inform us.) We call particular attention to this new social meter, in consequence of hearing some gentlemen who never were considered musical, successfully attempting the Star Spangled Banner, with variations, about thirty rods from Clinton Forest, where a contraband lager beer merchant had opened his wares. No one will be unkind enough to intimate that the music came from the lager. No!

"The festival altogether was a success, and has initiated a new order of excursions, which we hope will be followed up. The receipts at the gate were over four hundred dollars, we understand, and at the different booths, &c., several hundred dollars more. The proceeds are for the benefit of the Niagara Street Methodist Church, and will prove a great assistance to them in paying off the debt of the Church. The ladies particularly deserve the highest encomiums for their efforts and attempts to make the Festival a model one, and carrying it out to triumph.

"When we left at six o'clock, there were thousands on the ground, and load after load coming out."

Do you not think, Mr. Editor, that sinners must be incorrigibly impenitent, who will not yield to these combined attractions, thrown around the cross of Christ? Do you think there can possibly be the least hope of one who still holds out, after the Church spreads her tables with "delicacies of all sorts"—not spiritual food unappreciable by bodily appetite—but substantial luxuries, such as "clam bake and chowder," "ice-cream" and "sponge cake," with "handsome women" and "young and pretty damsels," for attendants, and the "Twilight Serenaders" and the "Union Cornet Band" to sing the invitation,

"Come sinners to the Gospel feast!"

We should like to "ask for information," if those who go to heaven in this way, will not have a different song to sing, from those who "denied themselves," came out from the world, and took up their cross, and followed Jesus?

Can any doubt, after reading the above account of an M. E. Church Festival, evidently intended to be complimentary, that we so slandered this Church in our "New School Methodism," that we, and all who sympathize with us, should be expelled, without benefit of appeal?

B. T. ROBERTS.

THE LIFE QUAG.

They err who measure life by years.
With false or thoughtless tongue;
Some hearts grow old before their time;
Others are always young.

'Tis not the number of the lines
On Life's fast filling page;
'Tis not the pulse's added throbs
Which constitute their age.

Some souls are serene as the free,
While others nobly thrive;
They stand just where their fathers stood;
Dead even while they live!

Others, all spirit, heart and sense—
Their life is thought;
Warm up the colors that they glow,
With fire or fancy fraught.

Live to some purpose—make thy life
A gift of use to thee!
A joy, a good, a golden hope,
A heavenly agony!

[The following remarks will apply to others, perhaps, besides Temperance reformers.]

CANT COME.

"We need you here much. Can you not come? We have no church, but we will pledge you a school-house full and a most enthusiastic welcome."

The above is one of the many promising invitations, to which we respond:

We have nearly twenty years of large investments in large meetings and enthusiastic welcomes. Both are gratifying to a friend of the cause, but like the boarder's pudding and milk, after fifty or sixty meals, become quite too common. A lifetime of such receptions, we are both sorry and humiliated to say, bring poverty with fame, and leave the unselfish recipient without a roof of his own, or a shot in the locker for a rainy day. With no capital but poor health and a shattered body, we find ourselves engaged in a hand-to-hand battle for food and raiment for a platoon of those of our own flesh and blood, and who have higher claims upon our time and labor, than any reform. To the young and the ambitious, large meetings and enthusiastic welcomes may be a consideration, to one who has wife and children and his hair beginning to whiten, they bring but sad returns. They do not "buy the child a frock" or fill the larder.

Again: We are tired of this jag-bazilla system, leaving a single arm to give all the blows, and the many quietly enjoying the fight. This large amount of mere profession, becomes tedious—almost repulsive. We are sorry to say, that ninety-nine out of the hundred who attend lectures, and laugh and weep, never seem to care whether he who toils to give an unpopular cause life and interest, is clothed or fed; whether his stage or railroad fare is looked to; whether he lives or dies. They will attend such meetings for a life time without deeming brain-work a time to do it, of any account; nay, they

seem to think their time and attention a most flattering compensation! The man has had an enthusiastic welcome, and is perhaps invited to come again!! Peradventure, a hat may be passed, and less than a cent a-piece, and that contributed by a few, tossed in like a bone to a vagrant dog. Even this process, unless sprung upon the crowd like a trap, will disperse it like a case of small-pox.

Again: We will not longer work for those who do not seem to care a continental for the lecture—only to amuse or instruct themselves. Here is a temperance press in Wisconsin, of conceded ability—the only one between Michigan and the Mississippi—yet not having one subscriber to every thousand inhabitants in the State. Few tracts either, are circulated. And yet we talk of Prohibition in Wisconsin!

Finally: We have a right to an honorable discharge from constant platform labor. The editorial harness we never expect to lay off, until the hand is nerveless in death, for the Chief will be published for the "Old Guard" who have ever kept step to its music and who give it a tangible "God speed." But those who merely give large houses and enthusiastic receptions, have no claim upon our labor. Would one out of a hundred who attend such meetings, work for the Chief with half the faith, energy, and unwavering will with which labors for the cause, it would have a generous support, and its publishers not be compelled to live a life of galley slavery to sustain one temperance press. If they think it is a small matter to travel about and work for others, let them try it. Try it, friends! Leave your families, farms, hire men to do your work, drag round, toil until overworked, have large meetings and enthusiastic receptions, and then return home prostrate, expenses not paid half the time, and time lost.

How many will come and give us a week's work and pay their own expenses, for the enthusiastic reception we could give them?

All come!

Now to the law and testimony: Where temperance people do not forget that we work on the farm with our hands for bread, and will take an interest in the circulation of the Chief, we shall feel that they are disposed to meet us half way, and visit such localities when possible.

A rather unusual circumstance occurred at a ploughing match which lately took place at Vaugheray, (Rhône,) a young woman, about nineteen, driving a pair of oxen, presenting herself as one of the competitors. At first, some objections were raised as to her admission, but, under the circumstances of the case, they were set aside. Marie Chirat, the girl in question, had the misfortune to lose her father about ten months ago. He had a lease of a farm at a rent of 2000fr. a year, and when he died, left a widow, a little boy and Marie. The daughter, feeling that to quit the farm in the middle of the lease would be the ruin of the family, told her mother not to be cast down, for she would undertake to work the land. She applied herself strenuously to the work, and was soon pronounced to be the best conductor of a plough in the community. That opinion was confirmed at the public competition, as the principal prize was awarded to her. She returned home in triumph to her mother, accompanied by a party of female friends.

A SABBATH SCHOOL INCIDENT.

At a meeting in Exter Hall, London, where there was a vast number of Sabbath school children assembled, a clergyman arose on the platform, and told them of two bad little boys whom he had once known, and of a good little girl whom he afterwards learned to know. This little girl had been to Sabbath school, where she had learned "to do some good every day." Seeing two little boys quarreling, she went up to them, told them how wickedly they were acting, made them desist from quarreling, and in the end, induced them to attend Sunday school. These boys were Jim and Tom. "Now children," said the gentleman, "would you like to see Jim?"

All shouted with one voice, "Yes! yes!"

"Jim, get up!" said the gentleman, looking over to another part of the stage. A reverend looking missionary rose and looked smilingly upon the children.

"Now would you like to see Tom?"

"Yes! yes!" resounded through all the house.

"Well, look at me—I am Tom, and I too have been a missionary for many years. Now, would you like to see little Mary Wood?"

The response was even more loud and earnest than before, "Yes!"

"Well, do you see that lady over there in the blue silk bonnet—that is little Mary Wood, and she is my wife!"

AN OLD ELECTION STORY.—Several gentlemen were riding in a car on one of the Boston roads a few years ago, when the conversation turned upon the next Presidential Election, and the merits, prospects of Webster, Fillmore, and Case, and others. After some time a solemn individual, who had listened in silence, addressed the party thus:

"My friends you are all wrong. Before the election of 1852, the world will have come to an end, and Jesus Christ will be President of the Universe."

Up started an enthusiastic gentleman from the Granite State, and stammering said to the Milliner:

"S-r, I'll b-bet you t-ten dollars New Hampshire w-won't go for him."

A roar of laughter greeted the Second Adventist, as he removed to another car.

We are no advocate for visionary projects that interfere with useful establishments. We scout the idea of a railroad as impracticable! What can be more palpably absurd and ridiculous than the prospect of locomotives traveling twice as fast as stage coaches? We should as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congress's rockets, as to put themselves at the mercy of such a machine, going at such a rate.—*English Quarterly Review*, March, 1825.

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